

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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Not to be stopped this time

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The United Nations—A Living Reality

With the beginning of the new year, the attention of the entire world will be focused upon the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. Now, after months of preparation in working out details, the UNO is to become a living reality. The world is about to embark upon an experiment of the greatest importance—an experiment of preserving the peace through cooperation. Because of the historic meaning of this great experiment, we are devoting this entire issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER to various aspects of the United Nations Organization.

THE first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization transforms that organization from a blueprint, a plan on paper, into an organization which will actually begin to function. The General Assembly, made up of delegates of all the nations, large and small, which agreed in San Francisco last June to join hands to preserve the peace, is now ready to make many important decisions and to launch the new organization as a peace-preserving league.

Many months of preparation have preceded this first meeting—months during which details had to be worked out, differences between nations adjusted, and plans laid. Now that these plans have been agreed upon, the first real test will come. The nations will be given the opportunity to see whether they can work together in peace as they did in war. No similar experiment in

history has ever succeeded. Upon the success of this one, the fate of the world will surely depend.

The idea of a world organization to preserve the peace has been a dream of statesmen and common citizens alike for generations. Plans for the present organization were begun during the dark days of the recent war, when people in all the Allied nations began to realize that they must cooperate to keep the peace once it was won.

Preliminary plans for an organization of the United Nations were drawn up during the summer and fall of 1944. Representatives of the four major Allies—the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China—met at Dumbarton Oaks, an historic estate in Washington. There agreement was reached on the general type of machinery which should be set up to keep peace, although the Big Four left certain issues to be resolved later.

The next step in the difficult task came in the spring of 1945. Before the war had ended in Europe, the San Francisco Conference opened, on April 25. All members of the wartime United Nations were invited to send delegates to work out a specific charter for a permanent peacetime organization.

The story of the San Francisco Conference has been told many times. It was not an easy task to reach agreement among more than 50 nations, each with different interests and objectives. At times, it appeared that the differences could not be composed.

The big nations could not agree among themselves and the small powers were frequently at odds with the great powers. Every point in the charter, or constitution, of the new organization was scrutinized and debated. Concessions had to be made and compromises worked out.

The United Nations Charter was signed by 51 nations in June. But even the signing of the document did not bring the United Nations Organization into being. It had to be approved by the governments of the delegates who affixed their signatures. The method of approval, or ratification, differed with each of the countries. In the United States, the document had to receive the votes of two-thirds of the members of the Senate.

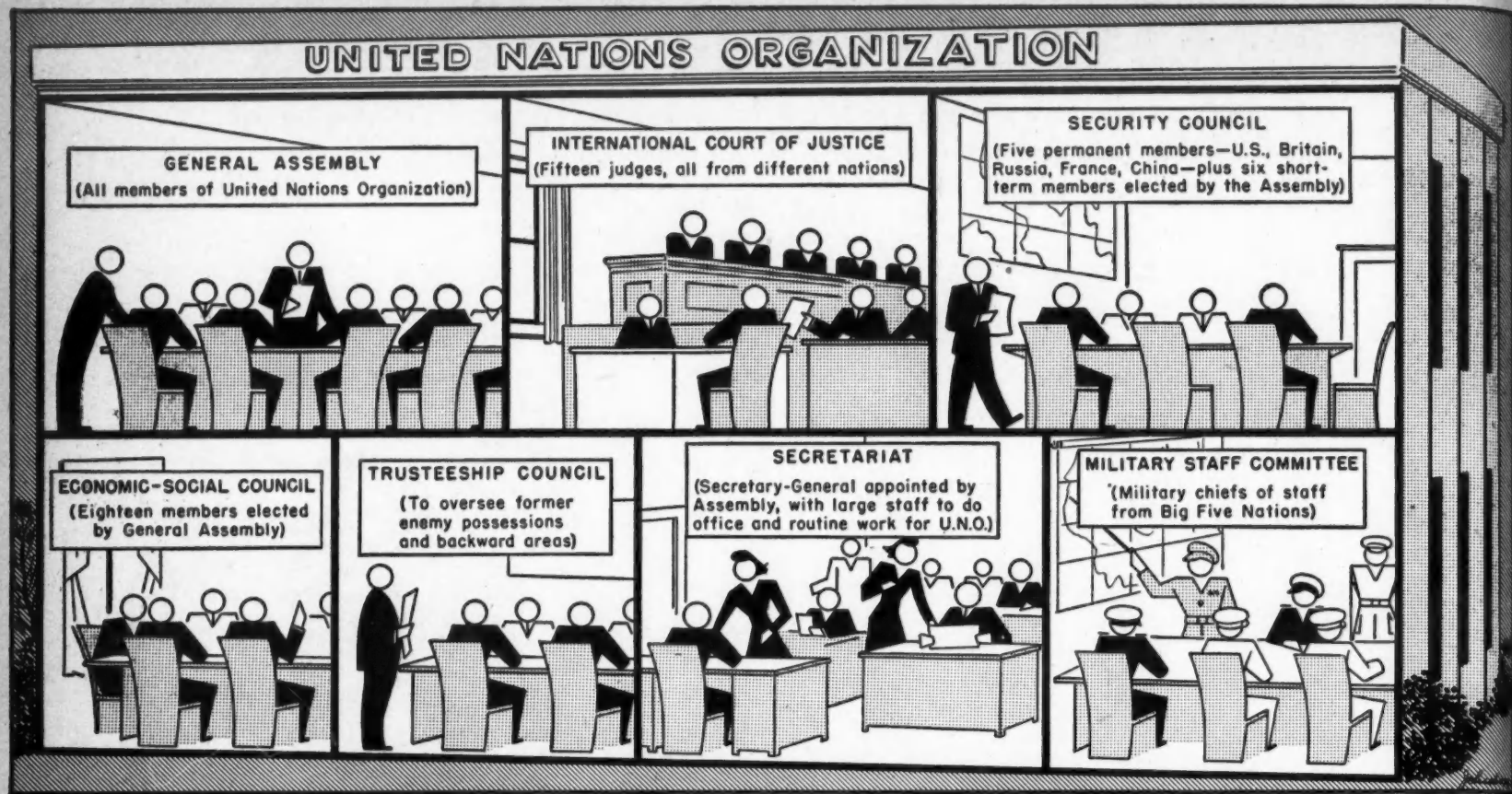
During the months which have passed between the close of the San Francisco Conference and the first meeting of the General Assembly, practically all the nations which signed the charter have ratified it. At the same time, a special committee, appointed for the purpose, has been working out details and making plans to set up the actual organization. This is the Preparatory Commission which has been meeting in London and which had to decide such matters as how, when, and where the meetings would be held, where the UNO should have its permanent home, and other questions connected with the launching of the world organization.

The stage is now set for the UNO actually to begin its work. The first

meeting of the General Assembly will make many decisions of importance. Among other things, it will determine the exact site of the UNO headquarters. The Preparatory Commission agreed that the permanent home of the organization should be in the United States but left it to the Assembly to decide upon the exact city. The General Assembly will also elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council (see page 2) and the nations which are to have seats on other UNO agencies.

What other matters will be taken up by the first meeting of the General Assembly are not yet known. It is possible that it will discuss methods of controlling the atomic bomb—a subject which has figured prominently in the preliminary conferences in London, or it may be that this question will be taken up by a later meeting of the Security Council. At any rate, control of the atomic bomb will be uppermost in the minds of the delegates as the UNO begins its work.

The next few months will be of crucial importance in determining the success of this mighty experiment in international cooperation. No one expects the first meeting to take place without serious differences of opinion. Many obstacles to international harmony must be overcome. But if the United Nations Organization, now that it is formally launched, can provide the machinery for composing differences, the world may look to the future with hopeful confidence.



How UNO Machinery Will Operate

THE basic purpose of the United Nations Organization (UNO) is to maintain and protect the peace of the world. It establishes machinery for settling disputes and for taking collective action against aggressor nations. But more than that, it sets up a wide variety of agencies which aim to develop friendliness and cooperation among nations and to improve the welfare of all the peoples of the world. In this way it hopes to remove the basic causes of war.

The authority for the UNO is derived from the charter or "constitution" drawn up at the San Francisco Conference last spring. This charter contains 111 separate articles, which outline in detail the purposes of the organization, the conditions for membership, the nature of the separate agencies which make up the UNO, and the way in which these agencies shall operate. The document is signed by the official representatives of all the nations which attended the Conference—representatives of 80 per cent of the world's population.

At present there are 51 members of the UNO—the original 50 nations which participated in the San Francisco Conference, plus Poland, which had signed the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942. Alphabetically, they are: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Commonwealth, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

Membership is also open to all other peace-loving states which the UNO decides are able and ready to accept the obligations contained in the charter. Of course, it will likely be many years before Germany and Japan are admitted, and the smaller Axis states will have to make it very clear that they have become truly peace-loving before they can become members. Also, the traditionally "neutral" nations, such as Sweden and Switzerland, must abandon their neutrality and assume the obligation of taking action against future aggressors before they can enter the UNO.

However, the rules established by the UNO will apply to all nations, regardless of whether they are members or not. The organization will act just as quickly to put down disturbances of the peace involving nonmember nations as it would if only members were concerned.

Here is a brief description of each of the agencies that will carry out the work of the UNO:

The General Assembly. This organization is the general meeting ground of the UNO; the democratic forum or "town meeting of the world" where all member nations, large or small, have an equal voice and vote. Each member nation may have five representatives in the Assembly, although each nation will have only one vote. The Assembly makes important decisions by a two-thirds majority vote of those present and voting; a simple majority will suffice on less important questions.

In a way the Assembly is the parent body of the UNO. It bears the responsibility of seeing that the major purposes of the organization are carried out, and it has specific powers to make sure that the other parts of the UNO work to achieve those purposes.

The Assembly will meet in regular annual sessions, and on special occasions if necessary. Its chief work is to study and discuss anything which affects international relations, and to

make recommendations on those matters both to individual members and to the Security Council. This power to discuss and recommend is absolutely unlimited, except in the case of a dispute which is already being dealt with by the Security Council.

If the Assembly finds that the government of one of the Balkan countries, for example, is persecuting one of its minority groups, or that the United States is carrying on trade practices which are unfair to other nations, or that a dispute over the Polish-Czechoslovakian border threatens to disturb friendly relations in Europe, then it will make specific suggestions about changing these situations.

As the Assembly grows in prestige and effectiveness, the influence of its suggestions will become very great. Through its debates and recommendations it will gradually build constructive world opinion about what is "right" and "wrong" in international behavior.

The Assembly also has numerous miscellaneous powers. It controls the budget of the UNO. It determines what the dues of each member nation shall be and it collects them. And upon the recommendation of the Security Council it can suspend or expel any member which does not live up to its obligations under the charter, or admit new members.

The Assembly also elects the Secretary-General, the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, all the members of the Economic and Social Council, and part of the members of the Trusteeship Council. It helps elect the judges of the International Court.

The International Court of Justice. If international law is to be established there must be an International Court for the peaceful settlement of legal disputes between nations. This Court is the judicial branch of the UNO, and all members of the UNO are automatically members of it.

The International Court is closely patterned after the old World Court which was associated with the League

of Nations, but it is an entirely new body. It consists of 15 judges, no two from the same country, who are chosen jointly by the Assembly and the Council.

No nation is forced to submit a dispute to the Court, but of course it is hoped that nations will choose to take their disputes voluntarily to the Court. Once the Court does take over a case, its decisions must be accepted by all parties concerned. Decisions of the Court will be enforced by the Security Council.

The Security Council. This Council is the strong arm of the UNO—the body on which rests final responsibility for preserving world peace and security. It is provided with the powerful machinery necessary to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes and to prevent or stop aggression.

The Security Council has 11 seats. Five of them will be occupied permanently by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, and France. The six remaining seats will be rotated among the smaller states by election of the Assembly, and each state will hold a seat for two years. The Big Five powers have permanent seats because they must provide the bulk of the armed strength to enforce the decisions of the Council when it votes in favor of using military action to stop conflicts among nations.

The Security Council will be in session at all times, ready to take immediate action on any question that arises to threaten the peace anywhere in the world. On frequent occasions foreign ministers or prime ministers of the member nations may attend Council meetings to offer their advice or to give information.

To illustrate how the Council works, let us assume that a boundary dispute develops between two European nations. From the very outset, the disputing nations are expected to use such peaceful methods as negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement by the Court to

olve their problem. By signing the charter, all member nations agree to such action.

But if the dispute should be prolonged, the General Assembly undoubtedly would begin studying the problem and would make recommendations for settlement. If these were ignored, the Assembly would then ask the Council to take over. The Secretary-General also might ask the Council to help settle the dispute, or the Council could undertake action on its own initiative, if it so chose.

At the very beginning, the Council might informally discuss the problem. At this stage a vote of any seven Council members would be enough to approve such discussion.

But if the Council wished to make serious investigation with a view toward taking action, then a different voting arrangement would come into effect. No action could be taken unless seven members of the Council, including all the permanent members, voted for it. In other words, any of the five permanent Council members could veto either investigation or action. (However, if one of the permanent members happened to be a party to the dispute, it could not vote at all on the question of investigation.)

Once it decided to take action, the Council would issue a temporary order, calling upon the disputing nations to accept its recommendations. If this were not successful, the Council would call upon all UNO members to break off physical relations with the aggressors, by stopping rail, sea, air, postal, telegraph, and radio communications. Next it would ask the air forces under its control in that region to drop warning leaflets.

If none of these measures sufficed, the final step would be to take such action by armed forces on land, sea, and air as would seem necessary.

Of course, the charter does not take away from any nation the right to defend itself against aggression. Neither does it prevent regional agreements for mutual defense from going into effect. Thus, for example, if Argentina attacked Chile, the latter would immediately use its own armed forces for defense. It would also call upon the other nations in the Western Hemisphere to come to its aid under the regional agreements which are now in existence.

But Chile would have to keep the Security Council of the UNO fully informed about these moves, and the Council could step in with its international police force and take over the situation whenever it wished. In other words, the Council is supreme.

In addition to the broad powers already discussed, the Council helps elect

the judges to the International Court, and it recommends to the Assembly who should be the Secretary-General. It also makes recommendations to the Assembly on the admission of new members and the suspension of privileges or the expulsion of members.

The Military Staff Committee. This body consists of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council (that is, the Big Five). It advises the Security Council about how large an army, navy, and air force it will need to maintain international peace, and it makes recommendations about regulation of armaments.

The Council makes agreements with all the member nations by which they will furnish a certain part of their military, naval, and air forces for police purposes when needed. Member nations also agree to permit use of their bases and to permit police troops to pass through their territory if they need to in order to come to grips with an aggressor.

When the Security Council finds it necessary to take military action to preserve world peace, the Military Staff Committee will take over strategic direction of the armed forces which the Council has at its disposal. This means that the best brains of the armed forces of the world's largest powers will be making plans to deal with any future aggressor nation.

The Economic and Social Council. This is one of the most important agencies of the UNO, because it is concerned with remedying so many of the conditions which cause international disputes and warfare. It consists of 18 members, elected for three-year terms by the Assembly.

The Economic and Social Council will study and make reports on all the broad human problems—trade, tariffs, housing, health, education, improvement of agriculture, distribution of food, nutrition, laboring conditions, and so on. It will make recommendations on these subjects to the General Assembly, to the member nations of the UNO, and to the "specialized agencies" which will work with it.

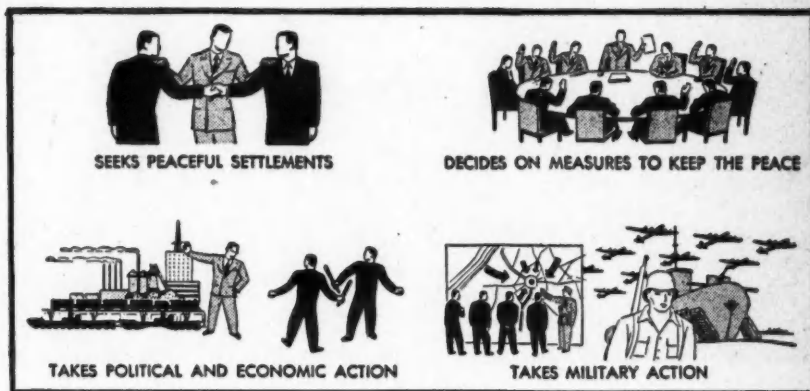
Two of these specialized agencies are already organized. One is the Food and Agricultural Organization, which will seek ways to improve world agriculture and to increase food supplies in undernourished parts of the world. The other is the United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization, which will attempt to improve world educational standards, to increase the flow of ideas to all parts of the world, and to encourage international cooperation in scientific research and study. And the International Labor Organization (which has existed since World War I) will likely become

affiliated with the UNO before long.

A number of other great international organizations are now being set up, and they, too, will likely become associates of the Economic and Social Council. They include the Civil Aviation Commission (to secure international agreement about global air commerce), the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (the two Bretton Woods agencies designed

nawa, those islands will cease to be merely "dependent areas" and will become "strategic areas." Our government of them will be subject to supervision by the Security Council if we decide to permit them to become trusteeships.

The membership of the Trusteeship Council will be divided equally between nations which hold trusteeships and those which do not. The latter group will be appointed by the Assembly for



to encourage world trade and prevent world inflation, and to help war-devastated nations rebuild), and the International Trade Organization (to remove restrictions which interfere with world trade, and to stimulate world employment).

The Trusteeship Council. Throughout the world there are many backward areas which do not have self-government, and which—in many cases—are not yet able to stand by themselves. These include the League of Nations mandates which were set up after the First World War, the territories taken away from the enemies in World War II, and all the colonies held by the various nations of the world.

The Trusteeship Council is designed to oversee the administration of any of these backward areas which may be put under its jurisdiction. Thus, for example, if we put our possession, Puerto Rico, under the Trusteeship Council, we then would become the "trustee" for Puerto Rico. We would continue to govern this island as a "trusteeship," but the Trusteeship Council would have supervision in order to see that we protected human rights and promoted the welfare of the inhabitants of the island.

There are a few trusteeships which will be handled by the Security Council rather than the Trusteeship Council. They are the backward areas which are also "strategic areas"—where defense bases will be established. For example, once the United States has built large naval bases on such former Japanese islands as Saipan and Oki-

three-year terms. However, there is a special provision that all of the permanent members of the Security Council (the Big Five) must be represented whether they hold trusteeship or not. Each member on the Trusteeship Council will have one vote, and decisions will be made by a majority of the members present and voting on every question.

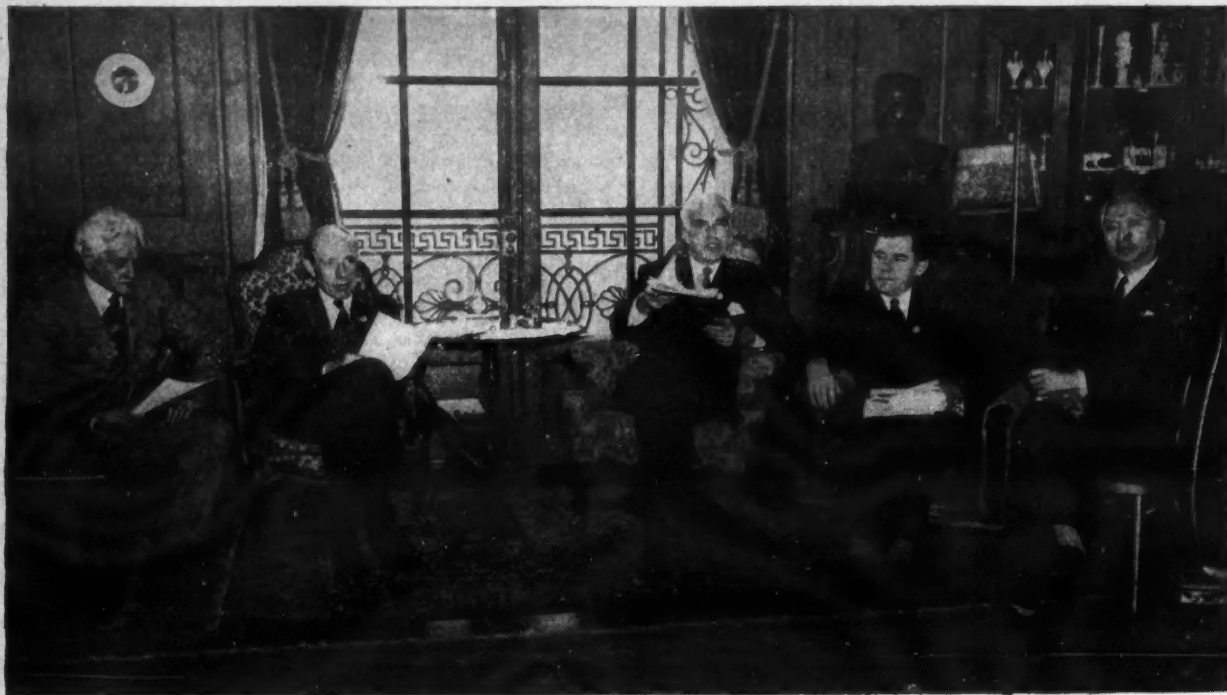
The Secretariat. This agency consists of a Secretary-General (appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council) and a staff which will do the year-round office work of the UNO. It will arrange meetings of the UNO agencies and provide them with the necessary clerks and secretaries. It will publish reports of all the UNO divisions, and keep all documents and records. All future treaties among members of the UNO must be registered with the Secretariat.

If the Secretary-General is an able and courageous man, he will be one of the most important figures in the world. He can do much to see that the bodies of the UNO meet their responsibilities. One important power he possesses is that of bringing to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the peace of the world. He also will make an annual report to the General Assembly.

The brief outline we have sketched so far explains how the UNO will operate under present plans. As time goes by, the need for changes may be seen, and there are provisions by which the charter can be changed.

Special plans have been made for a conference on revision at the end of 10 years. In the meantime, a revision conference could be called by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly plus an affirmative vote by any seven members of the Security Council. Single amendments may be proposed at any time by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly, but they must be approved by two-thirds of the member nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Thus, while amending the charter may be a fairly long and difficult process, the procedure has been agreed upon and changes can be made if any feature of UNO proves unworkable.





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The veto power, as incorporated into the United Nations Charter, was agreed upon by the Big Five at San Francisco. The delegates who reached agreement were (left to right): Joseph Paul-Boncour (France), Lord Halifax (Great Britain), Edward R. Stettinius (United States), A. A. Gromyko (Soviet Union), V. K. Wellington Koo (China). Most of the smaller nations are very much opposed to this extra power held by the Big Five.

Dispute Over the Veto Power

THE most widely debated feature of the United Nations Organization is the so-called veto power. This power is granted by the charter to the Big Five nations which hold permanent seats on the Security Council—the UNO agency responsible for enforcing the peace. Whenever the question arises as to whether or not the UNO should resort to military action against an aggressor, all five nations must give their approval. If any one of them is opposed to the use of force in a particular dispute, it can prevent action, even though all the other 10 members of the Security Council are in favor of it.

The voting procedure in the Security Council is described in the article preceding this one. For the purpose of understanding the veto power, the important facts to keep in mind are these:

Can Prevent Action

If one of the Big Five is charged with threatening the peace, it cannot prevent the Security Council from investigating the facts involved in the dispute or from designating it as an aggressor. But it can keep the UNO from taking forceful action against it. Moreover, the veto power enables it to prevent action against any other nation. In a controversy between two small nations, for example, it may favor one of them and wish to prevent the Security Council from taking action. In that case, it could say:

"The dispute is unfortunate, but we do not wish to have the UNO use force to settle the quarrel." If any of the Big Five nations takes such a position, the Security Council's hands are tied and nothing can be done unless the others wish to go to war against this nation.

Here are some imaginary cases in which the veto power might be used by a large nation to take advantage of a small one or to force the small nation into line on a disputed issue:

1. The Security Council, after investigation, decides that Russia is threatening the peace of the world by pursuing her present policies in Iran.

The Council may investigate the dispute between the two countries (with Russia abstaining from voting). But it may not use force against the Soviet Union unless the Soviet Union votes in favor of it, which the Russians would scarcely be likely to do. In other words, Russia could veto any action against herself, no matter how much at fault she might be.

2. The Council becomes concerned over Great Britain's military aid to the Dutch in quelling the uprisings in the Netherlands Indies. The Council comes to the conclusion that the armed conflict in Java threatens the peace. It votes in favor of requesting the British to cease their military operations against the Javanese. The British refuse. Ten members of the Council vote in favor of using force against Britain, but the British delegate votes against it and no action can be taken.

3. The United States government announces that it will take permanent possession of certain of the Japanese islands which American forces won during the course of the war. It refuses to permit the UNO to inspect the islands or to allow other nations to share in the administration of them. As a result of this policy, the United States is accused of using the islands in such a way as to constitute a threat to peace. The Security Council, after failing to persuade us to change our policy, votes on the question of using force against the United States. But the American delegate on the Council blocks such action by using the veto.

4. The natives of Indo-China insist on independence from France. The French refuse to meet their demands, and armed clashes occur. The Council requests that the French make certain concessions to the native leaders in the effort to end the conflict, since it threatens to promote uprisings among other colonial peoples in that general region. France ignores the request of the Security Council, and, by using its veto, prevents it from taking any action in the dispute.

5. The Council becomes alarmed over the danger that the Chinese civil war may lead to a general conflict

among the major powers. While it is not supposed to interfere in a nation's purely internal affairs, it does have the right to look into the matter if there is the possibility that a conflict within a country may spread over a larger area. Ten members of the Council, after investigation, urge Chiang Kai-shek's government to make greater concessions to the Chinese Communists in the attempt to stop the civil war. Chiang turns down the request and vetoes military action by the Council when the issue is voted upon.

These illustrations show how the Big Five powers might use the veto power for their own protection. As we have said, moreover, they could also prevent UNO military action in a dispute between two or more smaller countries. Suppose, for example, that Yugoslavia should engage in a conflict with Greece. If the Security Council decided that Yugoslavia was to blame, Russia might conceivably try to protect that country by vetoing UNO military action against it. If, on the other hand, the Council voted that Greece was to blame, the British might aid that small country in the same way.

Power Not Absolute

It is to be seen, therefore, that the power of the Big Five nations will be great in the security organization. But it will not be absolute. While they will be able to prevent UNO military action, even though most of the small nations may favor it, they will not be able to apply UNO force against any country without the consent of certain small nations. Here is the reason:

On all votes in the Security Council as to whether military force shall be used, at least seven members must be in agreement. This means that at least two of the non-permanent members, that is, two small nations, must favor the action. So the small countries can threaten to prevent military action when the big nations want it if these nations abuse their power.

Despite this weapon held by the smaller nations, many people fear that

the ability of any Big Five power to veto the use of force by the Security Council will greatly weaken the UNO as a preserver of peace. They argue as follows:

"If the peace of the world is threatened, it will not be by little nations but by large ones. If the Security Council, at the request of a simple majority of its members, or at most a two-thirds majority, cannot call upon the UNO to use force against a big nation which is threatening war, its hands will be completely tied.

"Naturally, if the large nations know that UNO force cannot be used against them, they will take advantage of the situation. Time and again they will defy the Council when it asks them to refrain from aggressive tactics, and finally all nations will lose respect for that organization, just as they did for the League of Nations.

"Until the veto power is eliminated, and until the Security Council can act against large nations as well as small ones when they are in the wrong, we in this country had better not rely too strongly on the UNO to prevent war."

Supporters of the UNO, though some of them regret the existence of the veto power, feel that its importance and danger are greatly overrated. They take this position:

Case for UNO

"What would be gained by having the Security Council in a position to vote in favor of military action against one of the powerful nations, such as Russia? If it were in such a position, and took advantage of it, there could be only one result—war. The Council members would know in advance that if they approved of UNO's using force against Russia, the Soviet military machine would resist with all its strength. Thus, they would try every other means of persuading Russia to change her policy before running such a risk.

"On the other hand, no large nation can hope to use the veto power to protect itself if it decides to embark upon a program of aggression. If the other UNO members, large and small, should become convinced that nothing but force could stop this aggressive nation, they would use force even though it meant war.

"Thus, regardless of what voting plan is in effect, there will be war if any of the Big Five nations engages in conquest or if these countries split up into rival camps. On the other hand, there will be peace if they stick together and are determined to settle their differences through compromise and negotiation.

(Concluded on page 7)



Self-elevated

UNO Must Deal with Causes of War

If the United Nations Organization is to be successful, not only must it be able to prevent aggression and to settle international disputes by peaceful means, but it must also work to remove the causes of frictions which lead to war. In fulfilling this obligation, the UNO will have no easy job, for the causes of war are as numerous as they are complicated. But every possible step must be taken to remove the causes of war, for, with the atomic bomb and other modern weapons of destruction, another conflict might, within a few days, bring civilization to the brink of destruction.



INT'L NEWS PHOTO
Militarism and narrow nationalism . . .

After a war starts it is simple enough to determine who started the shooting and to uncover the immediate sources of conflict between nations. But behind the dramatic events and incidents which lead to war—the disputes over specific issues, the negotiations, the demands and counter-demands, the break in diplomatic relations, and the final explosion—there are always deep-seated maladjustments in the internal life of nations and in their relations with the outside world. Armed conflict, in modern times at least, is always the result of a combination of economic, political, and psychological factors, all working to produce the final result.

What are some of the reasons why nations take up arms against one another? Why do they still, after the most costly and horrible war in all history, distrust one another? Why are they unwilling to cooperate wholeheartedly to preserve peace? Here are some of the principal sources of friction among nations:

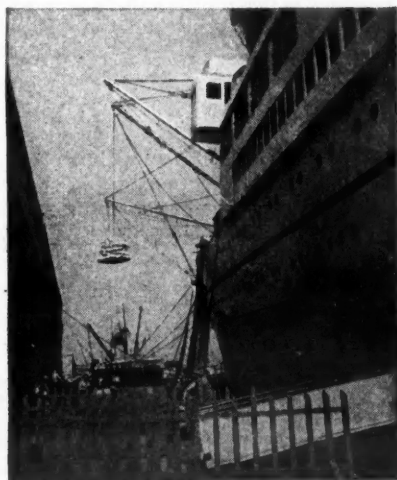
Fear and the quest for security. Throughout recorded history there has never been a time when nations did not fear one another. The weak have feared their stronger neighbors. The strong have feared those whose strength equalled or approached their own. Because of this ever-present fear, nations have sought through various devices to make themselves safe against attack. Sometimes they have tried to make themselves secure by forming alliances with others. Frequently they have built their defenses to the limit of their ability.

As a rule, each nation tries to make itself safe without taking into account the safety of its neighbors. It tries to make itself so strong that it can repel any attack that might be made against it. But if it is strong enough to repel attack, its neighbors fear that it may be strong enough to make an attack, and they will become alarmed.

At the present time, for example, the Soviet Union feels that in order to be secure it must maintain governments which are friendly to it in the countries along its borders. But naturally other nations fear that the Soviets may sometime use this added power to attack them, and suspicions grow.

The British have historically based their security upon the maintenance of a balance of power in Europe and upon keeping control over the shipping lanes which lead to their world-encircling empire. In carrying out the former policy, they have always tried to prevent one nation or one group of nations from becoming strong enough to dominate the continent. When such a situation has developed, they have thrown their weight to an opposing group. In protecting their trade routes, they have undertaken to maintain close political ties with countries located along the routes.

The United States looks at its security needs in terms of strong outposts to defend the homeland. We have sought to protect the approaches to this country by establishing bases in both the Pacific and the Atlantic. Before we became involved in World War II we obtained concessions from Britain which permitted us to build mili-



Rivalry for world markets . . .

tary bases on islands in the Atlantic and the Caribbean. We have now indicated that we wish to extend this defense system by establishing permanent bases on many of the islands formerly held by Japan.

While each nation of the world may regard the particular devices it employs to safeguard its security as purely defensive measures, others may interpret the measures as potential threats to their security. Whether a nation tries to protect itself by means of alliances, spheres of influence, balance of power, strong armaments, control of far-flung bases, or any other measure, there is always danger that others will become fearful of its intentions. Fear and distrust grow and the peace of the world becomes more precarious.

Economic rivalry. In olden times, wars were waged largely for economic gain. Countries saw in aggression and conquest the opportunity to obtain more food and other products for their people. Sometimes, the population grew so much that there was an actual need for food. Often countries felt that conquest of a weaker and unprepared foe offered an easy way to obtain great riches. Many of the colonial empires of the world were built up this way.

In modern times, the economic causes of war are more complex. Nations seek more than food and riches. They need raw materials for their industries, markets for their products of farm, mine, and factory. Many of them depend for their very existence upon a flourishing foreign trade. But the exchange of goods among nations has been complicated by the fact that most of them are unwilling to carry on trade in such a way as to benefit other countries as well as themselves. They erect tariff walls and other barriers in order to keep out goods which compete with their own products. At the same time, they use every possible means to expand their exports.

In the quest for markets and for sources of raw materials, rivalries frequently develop. Certainly one of the causes of the First World War was the competition between Great Britain and Germany for foreign markets. For centuries, the British had led the world in commerce. The Germans challenged their superiority by building a strong navy and merchant marine. They hoped to outstrip the British in economic power.

In the recent war, economic factors played a mighty role. The Japanese tried to extend their political control over a great part of Asia in order, among other things, to obtain the wealth of raw materials of southeastern Asia and China, and to find a vast market for the manufactured products of their factories. Years before Hitler attacked Russia, he openly confessed that he coveted the riches of the Soviet Union in order to make Germany powerful.

Economic competition among nations is one of the most unsettling influences in the world today. Rivalry continues among the members of the United Nations for control of the oil of the Middle East, for raw materials and for markets, for shipping and



Quest for overseas colonies . . .

aviation advantages, and for other economic benefits.

Peace depends upon stable economic conditions throughout the world. Depressions, with their toll of unemployment and widespread suffering, are breeders of war. And the world has become so interdependent, economically, that no nation can remain immune from the effects of depression in other lands. The world-wide depression of the 1930's was the forerunner of the most tragic war in history. Failure to establish world prosperity in the near future will again jeopardize the peace.

Domination and greed. The world

has witnessed many examples of wars being started largely as a result of the desire for "power for power's sake." Hitler and his Nazis made no secret of the fact that their objective was nothing short of world domination. The Japanese felt that they had a "divine mission" to rule the world. The lust for power on a continental or world scale is usually the logical development of absolute power vested in the hands of one person or a small group of persons.

Many of the dictators of history have used aggression as a means of keeping themselves in power. They dangle before their people the prospect of great power and wealth by national expansion. They stir the flames of hatred against neighboring peoples. They hold out ever greater promises to the people in order to prevent unrest and dissatisfaction at home.

Nationalism. Since the days of the French Revolution, one of the most potent forces in the world has been narrow nationalism—a smug devotion to one's own country and everything for which it stands. As the term is generally interpreted, it implies a feeling of superiority to other nations and to the people of other nations, a feeling of hostility toward them. Extreme nationalism is seen in its crude form in such expressions as "We are better and stronger than any other country and we can lick any of them."

Narrow nationalism, as distinguished from true love of country, is a great psychological spur to war. Governments which become extremely nationalistic are prone to make a great show of military might. They are likely to instill in their people a hatred for foreigners and a desire for conquest. Nationalism in one country is inevitably followed by fear and suspicion in others and is a great contributing factor to war.

National patriotism is, of course, highly commendable. The people of every country should support the interests of their nation and of all its inhabitants. But narrow or excessive nationalism is a great barrier to an understanding among the peoples of the world. There is too great an indisposition on the part of most people in every country to understand others who happen to be of a different nationality. Lack of understanding creates ill will, even hostility. Before the peace of the world can be established on a truly secure basis, the barriers to understanding must be broken down and all peoples must realize that today it is truly "one world" in which we live.



Depression—leading causes of war

Should We Have World Government?

THE successful development of the atomic bomb and the prospect of more deadly weapons in the future have led many people throughout the world to advocate the immediate establishment of a world government. In the United States, many of the leading citizens have endorsed the proposal and organizations have been set up to promote the idea. Only through a strong world organization, stronger than the United Nations Organization, can peace be preserved and civilization saved from disaster, it is claimed by the advocates of world government.

Supporters of a stronger world organization than the UNO are divided into two groups in approaching the

fore in the history of the world had the attempt been made to organize the nations of the world into a single body consecrated to the task of preserving the peace. At long last, people felt, their dreams of peace were about to be realized through the new machinery.

At the outset, the League of Nations suffered from a number of handicaps. It was never a truly "world" organization. Although it was largely the dream of an American President, Woodrow Wilson, the United States did not become a member. Another great world power, the Soviet Union, was not permitted to join until 1934 when the clouds of war were again hovering over the world's horizon.

impossible to draft a Constitution for this country which at once met the approval of the 13 original states. With the unanimous approval of 60 member nations required on any important decision, it was practically impossible for the League of Nations to act effectively when the peace of the world was disturbed.

Another handicap of the League was that it could take forceful steps only after an act of aggression or war had occurred. Two world wars within a generation show that it is much more difficult to stop a conflict once it has begun than it is to prevent it from occurring when the danger of trouble first arises.

levelled at the veto power of the Big Five in the Security Council (see page 4), this formula obviously offers a greater chance of agreement than an arrangement whereby agreement must be reached by 60 nations.

Moreover, the UNO is not obliged to wait until warfare actually breaks out before its machinery can swing into action. It can take action in a dispute whenever there is a "threat" to peace. This power to act in advance is of the greatest importance because, if the world is to be saved from disaster, war must not be allowed to start. With the atomic bomb and other weapons of destruction, another war would bring unimaginable catastrophe in its first stages.

The UNO will be prepared at all times to take military action to preserve the peace. It will have at its disposal part of the air, sea, and land forces of its member nations. The UNO Military Staff Committee will be constantly making plans to deal with possible aggression in any part of the world.

The UNO is also much better prepared than the League was to tackle the social and economic causes of war. As the article on page 2 points out, the Economic and Social Council will be constantly studying and recommending programs of action on such matters as trade, housing, health, education, food, raw materials, and other problems which, in the past, have played a big part in sowing the seeds of war. While the UNO cannot compel nations to pursue policies in the economic field which will be conducive to peace, it can use its great prestige in trying to persuade them to do so.

Critics of UNO

Despite the fact that the UNO is a stronger organization than the League of Nations, there are many people who believe it will be unequal to the task of preserving the peace. These people contend that so long as the powerful nations retain complete sovereignty and are able to make their own decisions independently of the others, the UNO will be unable effectively to restrain a future aggressor. These are the people who say that immediate steps should be taken to set up a world government with undisputed authority to act in any situation which might lead to war.

If a world government were established, no single nation would have the power to resist any decision made by the central authority. It would have final authority to deal with any crisis or problem which endangered the peace. It would be stronger than any nation because each nation would have surrendered part of its sovereignty, or independence of action, to it. For example, a world government would have absolute authority over atomic energy and armaments, and it would have sufficient military strength to deal swiftly and forcefully with a would-be aggressor country.

Those who support world government compare the UNO with the political arrangement which existed in this country under the Articles of Confederation. Before the adoption of the Constitution, the 13 states formed a loose association among themselves. The Continental Congress, which was supposed to represent the country as a whole, had practically none of the power that a government must have to



ADAPTED FROM GIDAL IN FR

problem. There are those who feel that the need is so imperative that an immediate attempt should be made to organize a strong government to which all nations would give up part of their sovereignty, or independence of action. They would abolish the United Nations Organization altogether and start from scratch on the new project.

There are others who, while believing that an organization stronger than the UNO should indeed be set up, feel that the best approach to the problem is to build on the foundations which have already been established. These people would use the UNO as a starting point. They would do everything possible to make it a success, would correct its weaknesses, and gradually develop the world government through this process.

How, in fact, would a genuine world government differ from the present United Nations Organization? In what ways would it differ from that earlier experiment in international organization which was undertaken at the close of the First World War—the League of Nations? Because of the importance which the issue of world government is likely to assume in the future, let us examine the various forms of international organization.

The League of Nations was the most ambitious undertaking of its kind up to the time of its creation. Never be-

Hence, though its membership rose to 60 nations, it was greatly weakened by the absence of certain nations whose support and cooperation were essential to success.

Another weakness of the League of Nations was inherent in its form of organization. It was a loose association of nations. Its 60 members pledged themselves to work together in the effort to keep the peace. But none of them was willing to give up the slightest degree of sovereignty. All reserved the right to act independently on all vital matters. In fact, each member nation reserved the right to veto any important action considered by the League.

The League of Nations, therefore, possessed none of the authority which a governing body enjoys. Even if it were able to reach a decision on a vital matter of acting against an aggressor, it could not enforce its decision because it had no military power at its disposal. It could only request its members to take certain steps against a nation which threatened the peace.

The history of our own country illustrates the difficulty of reaching agreement among a large number of independent nations. It is unlikely that a single piece of legislation of national importance could be passed if it had to be approved by the governments of each of the 48 states. It was

While the League vaguely held out the threat that it might take military action against an aggressor, it made no advance preparations for such action. Nor could it have acted without the unanimous consent of all 60 nations. Consequently, the use of force was never seriously considered by the League in a major crisis.

Furthermore, the League did not deal effectively with the more fundamental social and economic causes of war. It called attention to the dangers to peace arising from harmful trade practices and tried to persuade nations to adopt policies which might promote peace. But it was unable to bring about changes which would raise standards of living throughout the world.

The United Nations Organization, though an association of independent nations like the League, is in many ways stronger than the earlier organization. It has none of the attributes of a world government inasmuch as none of the 51 members has given up any essential sovereignty. Yet its method of organization and procedure in dealing with disputes is such as to enable it to act more effectively.

Whereas in the League any one of 60 nations could veto any kind of forceful action against an aggressor, in the United Nations Organization such power is held by only five nations. Despite the criticism which has been

deal with important national problems. Each state remained sovereign and independent; each kept the power to make its own decisions on practically all matters. The Continental Congress could not collect money directly from the people. It was obliged to ask the states for funds, and the requests were not always granted. It could not regulate trade among the states or between this country and foreign nations. Each state could erect tariff walls around its borders. Each had its defense system.

It was in order to remove the weaknesses of the Confederation that the 13 states agreed to give up part of their sovereignty under the Constitution. They knew that a central authority had to be set up if they were to survive. Problems common to them all could no longer be dealt with on the basis of a loose confederation without real power to act.

The example of this country under the Articles of Confederation is cited by those who are now demanding world government. They contend that the UNO is no stronger than was the Continental Congress; that it cannot force its members to provide funds; that it cannot compel them to carry out any of the policies which are essential to peace. The UNO, it is pointed out further, can use military force against an aggressor only if all the Big Five nations approve such action. It will have air, sea, and land forces at its command, but individual nations will still maintain their own military machines, and several of these will be much larger and stronger than the UNO forces.

Revolutionary Times

Supporters of the world government idea admit that it is a revolutionary break with tradition but argue that these are revolutionary times. Unless peoples and governments are willing to adapt their thinking to the revolutionary changes in warfare, they contend, the world faces the very real possibility of being destroyed by atomic weapons and other modern instruments of destruction.

There are many people who accept the idea that the hope of peace lies only in effective international organization but who feel that a plan of world government does not offer the solution to the problem. They say that such a plan could not be put into effect at this time and that the best policy for the present is to make the UNO a success. The UNO is already in operation. Many months of preliminary work are out of the way. Even if the majority of nations should

agree to the idea of world government, it would take a long time to iron out the details. There would be far more disagreement among the various nations than there has been over the UNO.

It is far better, the argument continues, to recognize the victory we have won in having the UNO established. The great responsibility of all peace-loving people now is to see to it that this experiment succeeds. If given the chance, the UNO offers a genuine hope of maintaining peace and of achieving an ever-increasing measure of world cooperation and prosperity. Even the United States did not achieve unity and effective government in a single step. The Constitution was the logical outgrowth of the experiences the country had under the Articles of Confederation. It is doubtful whether the 13 original states would have been willing to unite under the Constitution had they not taken the preliminary step.

Can Be Improved

Those who follow this line of reasoning believe that the UNO may pursue the same course. Admitting that the present organization is far from perfect, they argue that it can be perfected in time. The important thing at present is to develop the habit of cooperation among the nations of the world. The greatest obstacle to peace today is the suspicion and distrust which exist, especially among the big powers. If these nations, and all the others, can learn to work out their problems and settle their differences through cooperation; if they can learn to trust one another in the UNO, they may be willing in time to lend full support to a true world government. If the nations of the world, big and small, cannot get along together as members of the United Nations Organization, there is no reason to assume that they could do so in a world government.

Whatever disagreements there may be about the form of international organization best suited to preserve the peace, there is overwhelming support for the idea that there must be effective cooperation if the world is to avoid destruction. The tremendous majorities with which Congress has approved our participation in the UNO are but one of the indications of this support. Many Americans feared that the U. S. Senate, which prevented our country from joining the League of Nations after World War I, would keep us from cooperating effectively with the UNO. But these fears have proved to be baseless.

No Greater Responsibility

Probably no man alive more greatly deserves the title, "Father of the United Nations Organization," than does Cordell Hull, former United States secretary of state. The late President Roosevelt called him that because of the efforts put forth in laying the groundwork for the establishment of an international organization to preserve the peace. He made the preliminary plans for the United Nations Charter which was drafted at San Francisco and, at an advanced age and in poor health, made a trip to Moscow in the winter of 1943 to secure agreement among the Russians and British for a United Nations Organization.

In recognition of his untiring efforts for peace, Cordell Hull was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize a few weeks ago. Unable to accept the award in person, Mr. Hull sent the following message, which was read at the ceremonies in Stockholm:

"The problem of peace is uppermost today in the hearts and minds of all of us as the world emerges from the staggering ordeal of the most widespread and cruel war of all the ages. That war has brought with it a truly incredible development of means of destruction and a terrifying prospect of rapid and almost limitless development in that direction.

"Triumphant science and technology are only at the threshold of man's command over sources of energy so stupendous that, if used for military purposes, they can wipe out our entire civilization. Under the ominous shadow which the Second World War and its attendant circumstances have cast on the world, peace has become as essential to civilized existence as the air we breathe is to life itself. There is no greater responsibility resting upon peoples and governments everywhere than to make sure that enduring peace will this time, at long last, be established and maintained.

"Fortunately, the war has brought with it not alone a stark realization of what another war would mean to the world, but, as well, the creation of an international agency through which the nations of the world can, if they so desire, make peace a living reality. Within a few weeks, the organization for the maintenance of international peace and security, established by the San Francisco Charter, will be formally launched through the convocation of the first General Assembly of the United Nations."



Cordell Hull

Veto Power Dispute

(Concluded from page 4)

"What is more, even though the Security Council cannot vote in favor of military action against a major power, it can let the world know that such a nation is in the wrong. If any nation is in the wrong too often, it will not be able to avoid concerted action by the rest of the world.

"The veto power will not in any way prevent the UNO from checking future aggressions by Germany and Japan. The veto will not interfere in the settlement of most, if any, disputes among nations. And it may even tend to keep the large nations together. No one of them will feel that the others are trying to 'gang up' on it in voting matters, since it would do them no good to do so. Thus, there may be less suspicion and fear among the powers, and they may work together as a result.

"Those who try to destroy confidence in the UNO by attacking the veto power provision are doing a great disservice to humanity. For in this organization lies our best hope of building a lasting peace."

These, in brief, are the arguments for and against the veto power. The two nations which are most in favor of it are Russia and the United States. Russia favors it because she knows that the majority of nations in the world are anti-Communist. She knows that in case of almost any dispute in which she might become involved, the chances are that she would be outvoted in the Security Council. She thinks that the veto power will pro-

vide her with protection. She contends that the United States or any other country would not enter into an arrangement when it knew in advance that it would be outvoted on most major issues which arose.

How the majority of American people stand on this issue, we do not know. But polls which have been taken from time to time among members of the U. S. Senate indicate that a majority of senators favor the veto. Their reason is that they want our delegate on the Security Council to be able to prevent the use of our troops or the involvement of our country in any conflict that does not have the support of the American people.

Many British leaders are opposed to the veto, and they contend that the world crisis caused by the development of the atomic bomb makes it even more imperative that no one nation be able to block UNO's ability to enforce the peace. The reason why some of these leaders are against the veto, however, is that they dislike and distrust Russia. They think that this device helps to strengthen the Soviet position in the UNO, so they oppose it. In other words, they think that they have more support in the UNO than Russia does, and hence do not need the veto protection.

Whether a serious effort will be made to eliminate the veto power during the first session of the UNO assembly remains to be seen. It is thought, however, that Russia would fight to the last ditch on this issue.



Opening of the San Francisco Conference last April

WIDE WORLD

Study Guide on United Nations Organization

1. When and where was the Dumbarton Oaks Conference held?

2. For what purpose was the San Francisco Conference called?

3. By what method did the United States government ratify the UNO charter?

4. Briefly describe the set-up and duties of each of these UNO agencies: (a) the General Assembly; (b) the Security Council; (c) the Economic and Social Council; (d) the International Court of Justice; (e) the Trusteeship Council; (f) the Military Staff Committee; (g) the Secretariat.

5. What is the veto power held by the Big Five nations?

6. Give some examples of how it might work in concrete cases.

7. What are the arguments against this voting plan? Why do UNO supporters feel that it is not so important as its critics claim it to be?

8. Why does Russia favor the plan? Why do many members of the U. S. Senate support it?

9. Explain how the attempt of nations to make themselves secure helps to bring on wars.

10. How does economic rivalry contribute to conflicts among nations?

11. What is meant by narrow nationalism, and how does it contribute to international disputes and wars?

12. What were some of the major defects of the League of Nations?

13. In what way is the UNO a stronger organization than the League?

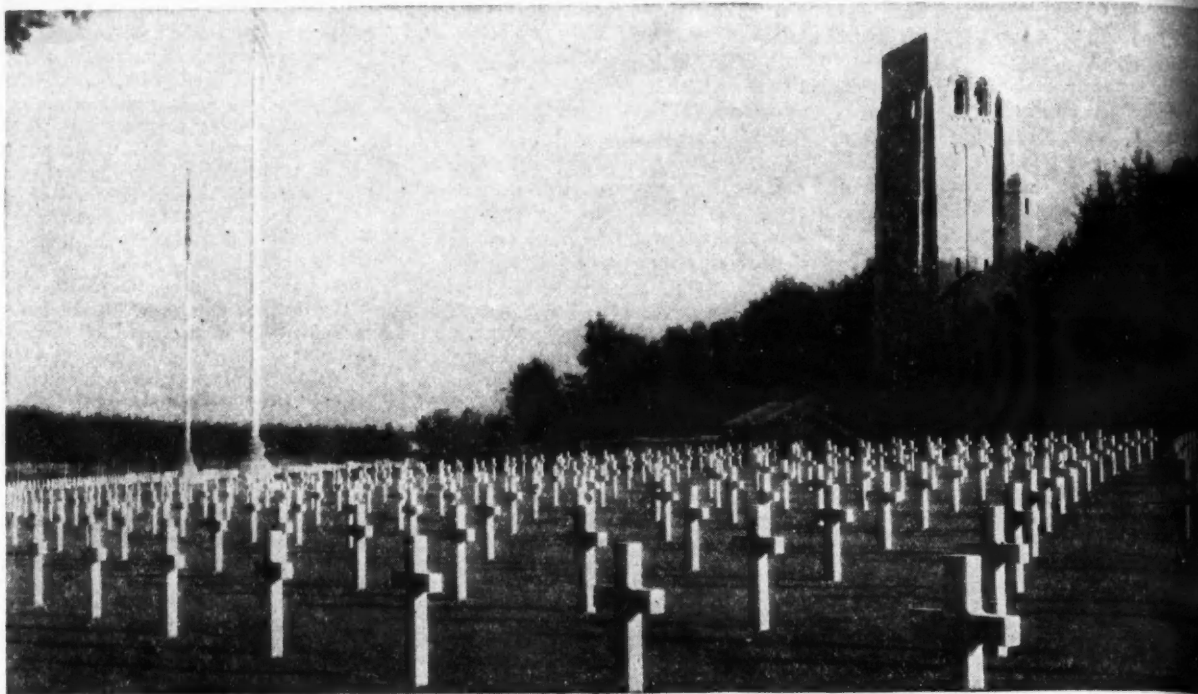
14. What is meant by world government, and how would it differ from the UNO?

15. Give several arguments for this type of government, and then give the reply of those who believe we should work through the UNO.

Discussion

Do you think the veto power will, as many claim, prevent the United Nations Organization from being a success, or do you agree with those who contend that the importance and danger of this voting plan are greatly overrated? Explain your position.

Critics of the UNO argue that it places far too much power in the hands of the large nations, and gives too little authority to the small countries. Supporters deny this to be true, and contend that, on the whole, the small nations have as much authority as the major powers. What do you think about this matter? In making your decision, remember these facts:



"That these dead shall not have died in vain"

The smaller nations will outnumber and be able to outvote the larger ones in the Assembly. This body will be able to consider every type of international problem except the use of force against an aggressor. On the other hand, the Big Five will be able to prevent the Security Council from taking military action unless all of them approve. At the same time, however, the Big Five must have the support of at least two small countries on the Security Council before they can obtain UNO military action when they want it. In view of these and other facts, do you or do you not believe that the large nations have too much power in relation to the small ones?

Are you optimistic that the United Nations Organization will be able to deal effectively with the causes of war, to limit armaments among nations, to settle conflicts before they reach the dangerous stage, and in other ways to prevent a war of destruction? If not, would you favor a strong world government? If your answer is still "no," what do you think is the best way to prevent an atomic war?

Do you think that the world is ready for a genuine government among nations, or do you believe that the UNO offers the only practical hope of peace?

Regardless of which side you take on this issue, what do you feel is the strongest point in favor of world government? The weakest point?

What, in your opinion, is the strongest argument for the UNO, and what is the weakest?

Action

The younger generation of Americans, more than any other group, has a vital interest in seeing to it that international cooperation succeeds because, if it fails, it will be this generation that pays the highest price in blood and suffering. There are a number of lines of action that students may take. They may write to their editors, congressmen, and other public leaders, supporting them on concrete measures for strengthening international cooperation. They may also form "peace clubs" of their own, or work with certain groups already in existence.

One simple step which every young American can take to help make the peace-enforcing experiment a success is that of combating defeatism and discouragement which are certain to arise as the experiment meets with obstacles. Already there are people who are unwilling to give international cooperation a chance to prove whether it can work—people who loudly proclaim that war is inevitable and nothing we can do will prevent it. It is true that no previous plan of world peace enforcement has succeeded, but that does not mean none ever will or can succeed.

Hence, young people can perform a vital service by calmly but forcefully speaking up and urging patience, understanding, and encouragement whenever anyone in their presence adopts a cynical and defeatist attitude.

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CARNAGE IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
Too far apart



JUSTUS IN MINNEAPOLIS STAR JOURNAL
One world